

Message Text

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ACTION EB-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CAB-09 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4589

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION USNATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 5745

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ETRN, WB, GW, GE, UK, FR, NL, UR

SUBJECT: PAN AMERICAN APPLICATION FOR AMSTERDAM-
BERLIN SERVICE

REF A. STATE 70060; B. BONN 5409

1. EMBOFFS HAVE DISCUSSED DEPT' S REPLIES TO POINTS
RAISED BY UK WITH FRENCH AND BRITISH REPS
BOTH BILATERALLY AND AT TRIPARTITE MEETING ON
APRIL 18. FRENCH SAY THEY ARE MUCH IN FAVOR OF
PAN AMERICAN PROPOSAL AND HAVE SO RECOMMENDED TO THEIR
AUTHORITIES. FRENCH CONTINUE TO SEE PROPOSAL AS
MEANS OF SATISFYING GERMAN VISHES TO DO SOMETHING
POSITIVE FOR BERLIN AIR SITUATION, WHILE AT SAME
TIME ENABLING US TO DISCOURAGE NON- THREE POWER AIRLINES
FROM COMING TO BERLIN.

2. DURING DISCUSSION OF MATTER AT TRIPARTITE
MEETING ON APRIL 18, UK REP SAID DEPT' S
REPLY PROVIDED GOOD DEAL OF INFORMATION, BUT LEFT
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UNCLEAR WHAT US REACTION WOULD BE IF OTHER COUNTRIES DEMANDED RECIPROCAL RIGHTS IN RETURN FOR AUTHORIZING CORRIDOR SERVICE BY ONE OF THREE POWER AIRLINES. UK REP SAID THIS POINT HAD DIRECT BEARING ON BONN GROUP AIR STUDY, SINCE IF IN ESTABLISHING NEW INTERNATIONAL CORRIDOR SERVICES, THREE POWERS WERE GOING TO BE OBLIGED TO GRANT RECIPROCAL RIGHTS TO OTHER AIRLINES, THE CAREFULLY CONTROLLED EXPANSION PROVIDED FOR IN STUDY WOULD BE THE NUMBER TWO TARGET OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, TENG HSIAO-PING, UNDERSCORES THE STEADY AND DELIBERATE MANNER IN WHICH MAO AND CHOU ARE PURSUING THEIR STRATEGY FOR POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION. TENG'S REAPPEARANCE ALSO INDICATES THAT SOME SHIFTS IN POWER AND POLITICAL READJUSTMENTS AT THE CENTER ARE UNDERWAY. IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, PEKING'S STRONG SUPPORT FOR NORTH KOREA'S LATEST PROPOSAL ON PEACEFUL UNIFICATION SUGGESTS THAT THE CONCILIATION OF THE TWO KOREAS LEADING TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF US TROOPS REMAINS A MAJOR PRIORITY OF PRC DIPLOMACY. MEANWHILE, SIGNS OF IMPROVED SINO-US RELATIONS CONTINUE TO APPEAR IN HONG KONG.

END SUMMARY

1. THE REHABILITATION OF TENG HSIAO-PING --

IN THE BIGGEST EVENT IN THE PRC'S INTERNAL POLITICS SINCE THE
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FALL OF LIN BIAO, THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION'S NUMBER-TWO RANKING VICTIM, TENG HSIAO-PING, WAS REHABILITATED IN PEKING APRIL 12. IDENTIFIED WITH HIS OLD TITLE AS A VICE PREMIER, THE 69-YEAR-OLD FORMER PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL REJOINED THE REGIME LEADERSHIP AT A BANQUET ENDING A SIX-YEAR ABSENCE FROM PUBLIC SIGHT. ONLY CHIANG CHING WAS MISSING FROM THE TURNOUT OF ACTIVE REGIME FIGURES THAT HEARD PREMIER CHOU UNMISTAKEABLY ALLUDE TO TENG AS AN "OUTSTANDING PATRIOT." TENG, WHO ACCORDING TO FOREIGN OBSERVERS WAS GIVEN A WARM WELCOME BY OTHER CHINESE PRESENT, WASTED NO TIME GETTING BACK TO WORK. WITH A FINE TOUCH OF POLITICAL SUBTLETY, HE WAS ON HAND APRIL 15 TO SEND OFF A DELEGATION HEADED BY LIAO CHENG-CHIH, WHOSE OWN REHABILITATION ALMOST TWO YEARS AGO PIONEERED THE RETURN OF DISGRACED VETERAN CADRE.

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2. THE MAKEUP AND WEIGHT OF THE POLITICAL FORCES TENG LEADS BACK INTO THE REGIME REMAINS TO BE SEEN. HOWEVER, AN ARTICLE IN THE CURRENT ISSUE OF RED FLAG (NO. 4) IS CLEARLY INTENDED

AS A STUDY REFERENCE FOR TENG' S RETURN AND IT EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF USING LENIENCY TOWARD THOSE WHO REFORM AS A WEAPON, TO " ISOLATE" AND " STRIKE AT A HANDFUL OF STUBBORN ENEMIES." IN ANY EVENT, POWER IN SOME MEASURE IS CHANGING HANDS, AND THE LEFTISTS MAY HAVE PRACTICAL ADJUSTMENTS TO MAKE IN ACCOMMODATING TO TENG AT THE CENTER. SUCH A REALIGNMENT OF POWER, IN ORDER TO BALANCE A NEW RULING COALITION, NOW APPEARS MORE CLEARLY TO BE A KEY OBJECTIVE IN THE MAO- CHOU STRATEGY FOR RECONSTRUCTING THE REGIME (HK 3625).
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3. A LOOK BACK AT THE FIRST QUARTER--

TENG' S REHABILITATION, ALTHOUGH A MAJOR EVENT, HAD BEEN UNDER ACTIVE PREPARATION FOR A YEAR, AND OTHER INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE YEAR LOOKED JUST AS CALCULATED. EVENTS HAVE FOLLOWED CLOSELY THE MODEST, OBLIQUE TASKS SET FORTH IN THE JANUARY 1 EDITORIAL. THE CAMPAIGN OF CRITICISM AND RECTIFICATION CONTINUES TO HAVE TOP PRIORITY, AND IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE IS IMPORTANT, UNRESOLVED CONTROVERSY OVER WHAT AND WHO THE TARGETS SHOULD BE. MORE VETERAN CADRE HAVE BEEN RESTORED TO OFFICE, LOOSENING THE MILITARY' S GRIP ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND PUTTING PROFESSIONALS IN GREATER CHARGE OF THE REGIME' S MODERATE, PRAGMATIC POLICIES. THE REBUILDING OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS, CAPABLE
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OF BETTER COMMUNICATING REGIME DIRECTIVES TO THE GRASSROOTS, GOES ON Apace. WHILE THE REGIME REMAINS UNSTABLE TO AN IMPORTANT DEGREE, UNEASE, THE REGIME APPEARS TO BE MOVING IN A CONSTRUCTIVE DIRECTION (HK 3694).
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